

The Asheville News.

VOL. 11--NO. 31.

ASHEVILLE, N. C., FEBRUARY 16, 1860.

{WHOLE NO. 551.

Swannanoa Lodge, No. 56,



I. O. O. F.
Holds its regular meetings every Thursday evening, at Temperance Hall.
J. L. HENRY, N. G.
S. W. BURGIN, R. S.
Asheville, Aug. 26, 1858.

French Broad Lodge, No. 2.

K. O. F. J.
Holds its regular meetings every Saturday evening at its Lodge room on the Public Square.
T. W. ATKIN, W. C.
L. H. SMITH, R.
Asheville, October 27, 1859.

J. F. E. HARDY, M. D.,

AND

J. G. HARDY, M. D.,

HAVE associated themselves in the practice of MEDICINE, in its various branches. Office—front room in the Temperance Hall Building, nearly opposite the Bank of Cape Fear. Asheville, Feb. 17, 1859.

W. L. HILLIARD, M. D.

ASHEVILLE, N. C.,

Office first door south of the Bank—January 6, 1859.

M. L. NEILSON, M. D.,

ASHEVILLE, N. C.

January 11, 1855.

G. W. WHITSON,

SURGEON DENTIST.

ASHEVILLE, N. C.

DR. JOHN C. LOVE,

OFFERS his professional services to the citizens of Jackson county, in the practice of Medicine and Surgery. He will attend promptly to all calls, day and night. Office 1 1/2 miles north of Webster, at the residence of J. B. Love, Esq. March 17, 1859.

LAW COPARTNERSHIP.

B. S. GAITHER & J. D. HYMAN,

HAVE associated themselves in the practice of the Law in the Superior Courts of Buncombe, Henderson and Haywood counties. Mr. Hyman will also practice in the County Courts of the above counties.

B. S. GAITHER, Morganton, N. C. J. D. HYMAN, Asheville, N. C. October 20, 1859.

WM. H. BAILEY,

Counselor at Law and Solicitor in Equity.

WILL practice in the several Courts of Buncombe and McDowell.

Address—Swannanoa P. O. September 29, 1859.

J. R. LOVE, JR.,

ATTORNEY AT LAW,

WEBSTER, N. C.

WILL practice in the counties of Cherokee, Macon, Jackson, Haywood, Henderson, Buncombe, Madison and Yancy. All business entrusted to his care will be promptly attended to. [Aug. 18, 1859—1y]

ERWIN & HARDY,

ATTORNEYS AT LAW,

ASHEVILLE, N. C.

WILL practice in the County and Superior Courts of Henderson, Buncombe, Madison, Yancy and Polk.

MARCUS ERWIN, W. M. HARDY, August 25, 1859.

David Coleman,

ATTORNEY AT LAW,

ASHEVILLE, N. C.

March 3, 1858.

W. L. TATE,

ATTORNEY AT LAW,

ASHEVILLE, N. C.

HAVING located at Asheville, will attend the Courts of Buncombe and surrounding counties. Office at Gudger's Hotel. December 16, 1858.

R. H. CANNON,

Attorney at Law,

Webster, Jackson County, N. C.

October 21, 1858.

SAM. C. BRYSON,

Attorney at Law.

WILL practice in all the Courts of the counties of Cherokee, Macon, Jackson, Haywood, Henderson, Buncombe and Madison. Office at Waynesville, Haywood county. February, 1859.

H. A. BOONE,

ATTORNEY AT LAW,

Webster, Jackson County, N. C.

WILL practice in the counties of Cherokee, Macon, Jackson and Haywood.

Oct. 14, 1858.

W. G. CANDLER,

ATTORNEY AT LAW,

Montmorency Multiflorus,

(Hominy Creek P. O., Buncombe County, N. C.) July 21, 1859.

WILLIAM F. JONES,

Attorney at Law,

NEW GOODS.

THE subscriber is now receiving and opening a large and handsome stock of

GOODS,

well selected in the cities of New York and Baltimore, expressly for this market, which he will

SELL AS LOW

as the lowest, comparing the styles of goods. His stock consists in part of

Sugar, Coffee, Molasses, Salt, Spice, Pepper, &c.

All of the best quality, and a heavy supply.

Hats, Caps, Boots and Shoes—

all sorts and sizes. Ladies, gentlemen's and children's.

Ladies Fine Dress Goods, Shawls, Bonnets,

Kid Gloves, cheaper than were ever sold in this market.

A good lot of Dress Trimmings.

Thread of all kinds.

Brown and Bleached Shirting.

Gentlemen's Dress Goods—a rich and heavy supply.

Ready Made Clothing,

A rich and heavy assortment, and fine goods to make more.

Spades, Axes, Shot, Powder, Lead, Indigo, Madder,

and a thousand other articles, too numerous to mention. Call and see, and you will be convinced that the half has not been told.

Nothing charged for showing goods. Always ready and glad to see you. Come on.

B. H. MERRIMON,

Asheville, October 27, 1859.

JAS. A. PATTON

HAS Just Received a large and varied assortment of

Dry Goods,

Clothing,

Hats & Caps,

Boots,

Shoes,

Drugs,

Groceries,

Hardware,

&c., &c., &c.

He requests his friends to give him a call. Asheville, Nov. 10, 1859.

GREAT ATTRACTION!

NEW GOODS! NEW GOODS!

OUR Stock of Winter Goods is now completed. Call and see us. We are prepared to exhibit to our friends and customers a

RICH AND VARIED

Stock, embracing everything that is called for in a Store in this country; and at prices as low, if not a little lower, than any other Store in the City can furnish them.

Come along with your

Wool, Jeans, Linsey, Feathers, Bees Wax,

Hides, &c., &c., &c.

And we will give you in exchange goods at figures to suit these distressingly hard times.

GAINES, DEVER & CO. Nov. 17, 1859.

WATCHES, CLOCKS,

AND

JEWELRY.

THE undersigned would respectfully announce to the public that he is permanently located in the town of Morganton, N. C., and is prepared to do all kinds of repairing neatly and promptly, upon reasonable terms. His ambition is to be the best workman in the State, and to do the best work for his numerous customers. Work can be sent by any of the mail carriers coming to this place.

All Work Warranted.

R. R. BROOKSHIER, 1y

Morganton, Nov. 10, 1859.

1859 FALL GOODS 1859

WE are now receiving our Fall and Winter Stock of Goods, embracing every variety of Goods suited to this market.

Our goods have been selected with great care and we hesitate not in saying, will compare favorably with any Stock ever shown in this place. We invite the attention of our friends from this and the adjoining counties to examine for themselves; they are for sale and will be sold for cash or to prompt customers on reasonable terms.

We take in exchange for goods all the articles of barter taken by any other concern here. Examine our stock before purchasing, it may be of use to you.

SUMMEY, SPEARS & CO.

It will pay to call and see the New Goods at GAINES, DEVER & CO.

THE PUREST AND BEST

LOOD Purifier is Kinchen's Celebrated AL-

Bterative. A fresh supply, just received at

ASTON'S.

NEW GOODS!

New Goods. New Goods. New Goods.

at SUMMEY, SPEARS & CO.

Asheville, Nov. 10, 1859.

PILES, FISTULA,

Strictures, Tumors, Cancer, Scrofula, &c.

PAMPHLETS containing testimonials of the highest character as to his success, will be forwarded to any that wish them. Those wishing to test the efficacy of Dr. Clopton's Wonderful Remedies, must give a correct description of the disease, its present condition, location, &c.

A three cent stamp must accompany all communications. Address,

J. A. CLOPTON, M. D.,

Huntsville, Ala. 1y.

March 24, 1859.

KEENS CREEK, N. C., April 25, 1859.

Dr. J. A. CLOPTON—Dear Sir: Yours dated 3d inst. came to hand about ten days ago. I should have written sooner but got one of my hands badly hurt. The Ointment I got from you, I think three years ago, made a perfect cure of a sore on my face of long standing. It has been a neglect in me not to acknowledge it sooner—There are two men in my neighborhood afflicted with cancer. I presume these cases have too far advanced to be cured. E. H. McClure has one which began just under the eye, and has gone round the eye. The eye if not destroyed is sunk. Robert Hunter's began close to his ear where the jaw bone works up to the ear, now spread all round, got down on his neck. I done my best two years ago for them to go and see you. Hunter started, got into Georgia, met with some old woman who undertook his case and he turned back. Willis Lunsford took my advice, he got the Ointment from you some months ago, he is now completely cured. The place I described to you on my breast I think is probably cured or checked for the present.

Respectfully yours,

WM. COLEMAN.

JOHN CARPENTER,

WHO occupies L. CHAPMAN'S old stand, (late Turkey Creek) at

LEICESTER,

Is now receiving and opening a general assortment of

MERCHANDIZE,

and purposes keeping himself well supplied in all articles usually called for at a village store. He will take in exchange for Goods all kinds of

Produce,

at fair rates, and desires as far as practicable to do a ready pay trade.

For CASH he is determined to be undersold by no party this side of the Blue Ridge.

To his old customers and friends he promises to make it worth their while to examine his stock; while new ones, he feels satisfied, will have only to try him to call again.

Leicester, Sept. 15, 1859.

TO RENT.

THAT large and commodious Public House in the town of Asheville, known as

"GUDGER'S HOTEL."

On the 1st day of January, 1860, the above named property, with all the out-houses connected therewith, will be offered for rent. The advantages which this hotel has in point of location, and the liberal patronage it has hitherto commanded, should be a sufficient recommendation to those who may be desirous of entering upon the business of Hotel keeping. A rare opportunity is now offered for a profitable business. The Hotel will be kept open by Mrs. Gudger, widow of the late proprietor, till the close of the present year, who, with good assistants, will use every exertion to accommodate those who may stop at her house.

Any person wishing to rent the above named property, will please call on Messrs.

SUMMEY, SPEARS & CO. October 27, '59.

WINSLOW SMITH,

Of Asheville, N. C.,

WITH

WESSON & COX,

Manufacturers and Wholesale Dealers in

BOOTS & SHOES

FOR THE SOUTHERN TRADE,

27 Chambers Street,

(Store lately occupied by Duryee, Jaques & Co.)

NEW YORK.

October 20, 1859.

E. S. WALTON OF N. C.

WITH

GEO. W. HOWARD & CO.,

IMPORTERS AND

Wholesale Dealers in Foreign

AND DOMESTIC

DRY GOODS,

No. 349 Baltimore and 62 German St.,

BALTIMORE.

Patronize the South.

GEO. W. HOWARD, JOHN H. COLE,

WM. E. COCKE, JR., HENRY F. SCHURMANN.

Dec. 8, 1859.

To Whom it May Concern.

A HANDSOME lot of Jewelry consisting of

A Pins, Ear Drops, &c., &c., &c. Just received at

N. E. N. Pinchback Watches sold at this establishment.

SALT, Salt, Salt, for sale by

GAINES, DEVER & CO.

BLANKETS, Blankets, Blankets, Blankets,

at GAINES, DEVER & CO.

HOME MADE WORK.

GAINES, DEVER & CO. have on hand a

first rate lot of Home Made Saddles, Bridles,

Wagon Harness, Collars and Shoes, made of the best material from their own Tan Yard.

WE will pay fifty cents per bushel for good

merchandise delivered in our crib

in discount or in merchandise.

GAINES, DEVER & CO. Nov. 14, 1859.

COPARTNERSHIP.

THE undersigned having this day associated themselves together in the Drug business, under the name and style of

E. J. ASTON & CO.

Respectfully solicit the patronage of the public, at the old stand of E. J. Aston on Main street.

DARBY'S

PROPHYLACTIC FLUID.

THIS IS A NEW DISCOVERY.

IT is a Chemical Union of materials, provided by Nature herself, for rendering pure the air we breathe. Its action is in obedience to fixed laws.

Quick, Sure, Powerful!

It purifies dwellings, sinks, kitchens, It removes all offensive odors.

It cures burns with instant certainty. It is best preparation ever used for fresh wounds.

It destroys all vegetable and animal poison. It relieves in a few seconds the bites of insects, bees, &c.

It prevents meat from spoiling. It relieves heartburn.

It makes hard water soft. It cures tetter and scald head.

It soothes boils when formed, heals them rapidly.

It is good for carbuncles, ulcers, corns and sores.

It cleanses the teeth and purifies the breath.

The worst symptoms of Typhoid and Scarlet Fever are mitigated by the use of this Fluid; it has been known to check the spread of Typhoid Fever in families and upon plantations.

Leading physicians are using it in Charleston, Columbia, Savannah, Augusta, Atlanta, Macon, Columbus, Montgomery, Selma, Mobile and New Orleans.

The Hospitals of New Orleans and Mobile are using it.

Hospitals, corporations, ship masters, manufacturers, planters, physicians, furnished by the gallon at reduced rates.

For sale by druggists and country merchants generally, from whom orders are respectfully solicited.

Try at least one bottle. Price 50 cents. Follow directions.

Manufactured only in the Laboratory of

DR. DARBY & FRICK, Auburn, Ala.

For sale by E. J. ASTON, Asheville.

N. B.—Persons wishing soils, ores, water, &c., analyzed, can have it done on reasonable terms by sending to Prof. DARBY.

Nov. 17, 1859—1y.

MADISON ACADEMY.

THE present Session of this Institution commenced Oct. 10th, 1859.

REV. W. F. PARKER, Principal.

WM. B. FERGUSON, Professor.

MRS. M. M. PARKER, Female Department.

Tuition Per Session of Five Months.

All minor classes in English, from \$4 to \$6 00

All classes in higher English, from \$8 to \$10 50

Latin..... 5 to \$6 50

Civil Law, Preparatory, C. C..... 10

Orthography as heretofore, with Lectures on Chart.

Board, lights, fuel, per week, \$1

Use of Chemical Apparatus, Terrestrial and Celestial Globes, Johnson's Ten Philosophical Charts on rollers, a small extra charge.

Lectures on English and Latin Grammar, Mental, Moral and Nat. Philosophy, without charge.

Every means for proficiency available.

Young men preparing for the ministry, and the sons and daughters of preachers of every denomination, will be allowed a deduction of one third.

Young gentlemen and ladies, without means, seeking an education, may come to this School a full session, and get indulgence until they can make the money to pay their board and tuition; provided, however, they bring a proper recommendation.

If parents want their children beyond the reach of all the fashionable vices of the age, they ought by all means to send them here.

The latest and best books in the Union are for less money than at any other Institution in the land. We intend to hold out greater inducements, and afford greater facilities than any other School in this country.

Students admitted at any time. No deduction from time of entrance to the close of the Session, only in case of protracted sickness. All must bring a copy of the Holy Scriptures.

"Come one, come all, come" student "thou," "All things" at Transmontane "are ready now."

November 24, 1859

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,

BUNCOMBE COUNTY.

In Equity. To Spring Term, 1860.

R. M. Henry and Marcus Erwin vs. J. B. Mitchell et al.</

SPEECH
OF
HON. THOS. L. CLINGMAN,
OF NORTH CAROLINA,
AGAINST
The Revolutionary Movement
of the Anti-Slavery Party;
DELIVERED

In the Senate of the United States, Jan. 16, 1850.

[Concluded.]

Such, then, Mr. President, are the views of this party, as indicated by its declarations and its acts. Its members are moving on with an accelerated velocity. While the more moderate of them now occupy the ground of the Abolitionists twenty years ago, most of them are far in advance of that position. Ought we to stand still until all the States are as thoroughly abolitionized as Massachusetts now is? If not, what can be done to arrest the mischief? I propose, then, seriously, to consider this question.

In my judgment there are two modes in which it can and ought to be met. The first is under the Constitution; the second may be outside of it.

If abolitionism be a popular delusion, can it not be dispelled by proper efforts? Truth can overcome error; but to enable it to do so it must be properly presented to the human mind. As the anti-slavery party have acquired their present ascendancy by vigorous and widely extended efforts, if they are to be overthrown, it is only by decided and persevering exertions on the other side.—There are, in my opinion, sufficient conservative elements in the free States for this purpose, if they can only be properly arrayed in opposition. It is necessary that the discussion should be widely extended and also, directed to the merits of the question involved. The constitutional argument is sufficient for the intelligent and honest; but if it be said, for example merely, that slavery as existing in the Southern States is a great wrong and a great evil, yet that under the Constitution the people of the North have no right to interfere with it, the party so defending will in the end lose ground, because masses of men when excited by real or imaginary wrongs will in time break over mere legal restraints which they regard as unjust and criminal. They hold that "where there is a will there is a way," and will find some mode of action. But in this case the real issue is, whether or not the negro is the equal of the white man physically, intellectually, and morally? Though usually evaded in the discussion, this is the real question which lies at the foundation of the controversy. If the people of the northern States should regard the negro as being the equal of the white man, then they will continue to feel a sympathy for him in slavery, and can be expected to exert for his liberation. If on the contrary, he be different in material respects from the white man, and also inferior, then his case must be decided on its own merits and not from any supposed analogy to that of their silliness assert, a mere question of order or prejudice against a black skin. If the negro were in all other respects like the white man, his blackness would have been of no more consequence than the difference between black and red hair or light and dark eyes. The feeling against him grows out of the fact he is in all respects different from the white man and inferior.—When I put the question to any one that he will at once agree with me, in private conversation, and admit, in the language used by the Senator from Illinois, [Mr. Trumbull], that Omnipotence has made a difference between the white man and the negro; and yet it is this very opposite view in favor of negro equality which gives its main force and vitality to the anti-slavery movement. When, sir, some twelve years ago I, in discussion, threw out suggestions about the difference of races, I was denounced as one who attributed injustice to God Almighty in alleging that He had made the negroes inferior.—Will any Senator on the other side of this Chamber tell me why it is that Providence brings half the children that are born in New England into the world with constitutions so feeble that they cannot live until they are twenty-one years of age? Or will they, upon their views of His justice, explain why it is that in the same family one brother is provided with a good constitution and strong intellect, while a second has from his birth the seeds of inability and incurable disease, and a third is mentally imbecile or perhaps idiotic? Would the injustice to the feeble be greater if they were black men?—Are we to refuse to believe the facts which nature constantly presents to us, because they do not harmonize with our ideas of the justice of the Creator? The Bible itself does not explain to us why it is that, while ten talents are given to one man, to another but a single one talent is given. For the inequality of the negro, Providence is responsible, as He is for the entire creation that surrounds us. When human laws are in accordance with the system of nature, they are wise; but if in opposition to it, they are productive only of mischief. The question is significantly asked in the Scripture, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin or the leopard his spots?" The ancients expressed their opinions on this subject in the fable which represents a black man as having been killed in an effort to wash him white.

There is no middle ground which can be maintained on this question. If the negro be your equal, why do you exclude him from your parlor? If he be unequal, your whole argument has in fact lost its foundation and fails. If it once be admitted that the negro is inferior, then the entire edifice of Abolitionism falls to the ground, because it is intimately interwoven with, and owes its vitality to, the opposite belief. When pressed boldly on the issue, the Abolitionists are trying to evade it. It is a singular and striking fact, that when this issue has been made in the free States directly, and discussed before the people, they have decided the point against the negro. Such was the case in Connecticut and New York on the question of suffrage, and also in the States of Illinois and Indiana on the proposition to exclude free negroes from those States. In the contest, too, in Illinois, in the year 1858, which resulted in the triumph of the distinguished Senator from Illinois, [Mr. Douglas], this was the leading issue. Had that Senator

contented himself with simply saying that slavery was an evil which his constituents had no constitutional right to interfere with, I do not believe he would have been successful. But he understood the question, went at once into the merits of it, and carried the war into the enemy's ranks. And his opponent early in the contest began to cower and shrink from his blows, and tried in vain to evade the issue. The American people understand the negro, and where a direct appeal is made to them they truly respond. Though the story of Dean Swift, in which in a certain country, he represents the horse as being greatly superior to the man, is an ingenious one, yet it misleads nobody amongst us, because horses are so common that their qualities are understood. So the romances of the Abolitionists, in which they represent the negro as being equal and even superior to the white man, deceive no one familiar with the negro. In southern Ohio, for example, where free negroes are quite common, there is little or no abolitionism; while in the northern part, in which the negro is seldom seen, anti-slavery carries everything before it. European writers know little or nothing of the negro, and hence our professors, preachers, and other mere book-men of the North, are easily led astray by European and American Abolitionists; but the people of the country, who are accustomed to look at facts, are not so readily imposed on. A thorough investigation of the subject shows the negro to be inferior, and hence the principles which apply to white men cannot be extended to him. No farmer assumes that what is advantageous to the hog, for example, is necessarily so to the sheep. To determine, therefore, what is to be done with the negro, you must study the negro himself. Remember, I do not undertake to decide how or when the negro race became different from the white. They may, as many men of science contend, have been of different species, or they may have been rendered different since their creation, by an act of Providence. Some plausibly say, that in as much as we learn from the Scripture that a certain race were condemned to be slaves through all time, the negro best fulfills the description, and hence take him to be a representative of that class.—Without attempting to decide who is right as to theory, I think it clear that the difference between the white race and the negro is as great as that between certain species of animals of the same genus, that approximate each other in their structure and habits. But it is said, Do you deny the manhood of the negro? No more than I should deny the manhood of an ape if I should say he is not a baboon, or the dexterity of a maulard if I deny that he is a canvas-back duck.

Instead of indulging in vague generalities about human liberty and the rights of man, examine the nature and condition of the negro himself. Four thousand years ago, in the climate best suited to his constitution, he was a savage and a slave. In his own country he stands in the same category with ivory, dates, and other tropical productions. If transferred, as merchandise, to a foreigner, he is usually benefited by escaping from a master who will eat him at times to one who treats him with more lenity and often with kindness. Egypt was the seat of the earliest civilization known to man, and the Egyptians held the negro as a slave, but were not able to civilize his race; though subsequently, in contact with the Carthaginians, Romans, and Saracens, he still remained a savage and a slave.

In the West Indies, and in other portions of America where they form independent communities, notwithstanding the advantages they had from the teachings of white men, and their great powers of imitation, they seem to be returning to their original savage state. When we turn to the free negroes of the United States, what shall I say of them? Why northern as well as southern men, and even Canadians, characterize them as the most worthless of the human race. Formerly the Abolitionists ascribed their degradation to the want of political and social privileges. But during the middle ages, in Europe, the Jews were not only without political privileges, but were, as a class, odious and severely persecuted, yet they were, nevertheless, intelligent, energetic, and wealthy. In point of fact, in some portions of the northern States, the negro has been made a pet of, and but for his native inferiority, must have thriven and even become distinguished. On the other hand, it is an indisputable fact that the four million negroes who are held in slavery in the South, when their condition is considered with reference to their physical well-being and comfort, their productiveness as laborers, their intelligence, morality, and religion, stand superior to any other portion of their race. While the free negroes in the North, with fresh accessions from abroad, diminish in numbers, the slaves of the South increase as rapidly as the white race, and, upon the whole, perhaps, add as much to the wealth of the country in which they are located as any equal number of laborers in the world.

What the abolitionists have to do is to find or create a negro community which is superior to that of the slaves of the South. When they shall have done this, they will have laid some grounds for their appeals in behalf of emancipation. Hitherto they have enlisted the sympathies and feelings of the North by falsely assuming that the negro and white man have in all respects the same nature. Let the inequality which the Creator has made be recognized, and their system falls to the ground.

But the abolitionists sometimes say that, if it be true that the negro is inferior, for that reason namely, on account of his weakness, he ought not to be enslaved. Does this reason apply to children? The average of human life is less than forty years, and how can you justify depriving human beings of liberty for more than half that time? If children were the equals of adults it would be wrong to control them. It is simply because they are inferior that we justify their subjection to the will of others. Upon these principles the negro, being, as compared with the white man, always a child, is benefited by the control to which he is subjected.

When pressed on these points by an array of facts, the abolitionists fall back on the opinions of Mr. Jefferson and others of the last century. But since their day the sciences have made a prodigious advance, and in all that relates to the peculiarities and distinctions that exist between the different

races of men, there has been the greatest progress of any. In fact, it is a science which has almost grown up in our day, and it has made such strides as to have taken possession of the intellect of America. Already there are hundreds who have adopted the doctrine of one who believed it ten years ago. It is only necessary for the true men to take it up boldly, and press it home, and the abolitionists can be routed throughout the North.

The shrewd anti-slavery men, however, seeing that they cannot make longer a successful fight for the negro, affirm that their objection to slavery is not on his account, but for the sake of the white men, and that they and the South are injured by the institution, and that our people are for that reason wanting in enterprise and industry. To that argument I have this to say in reply. Where, Mr. President, in all history was it known that one nation was so strongly under the influence of benevolence, as to cause it to make war upon another merely to compel the nation attacked to become more enterprising and prosperous? Who has invaded Spain or Turkey to compel the Spaniards or Turks to become more industrious and thrifty? Will any one gravely pretend this torrent of fanaticism in the North has no other origin except a desire to compel the people of the South to be more industrious, and to take better care of their own business, and be more attentive to their own interests? The idea is preposterous. I have no doubt but that misrepresentations on these points have contributed to strengthen the anti-slavery party. But, sir, there is a difficulty in making a complete defence on this point. With no wish, Mr. President, to wound the sensibilities of any one, or to claim superiority of my section, let us, nevertheless, look at some of the principal facts. One of the best tests of the prosperity of a country and its healthy condition is the progress of its population. Compare the population of the fifteen slaveholding States with that of all the free States as shown by the census of 1840 and of 1850, the last decade ascertained. If we deduct from both sections the foreign emigrant population, which is an accidental increment, it will be found that the slaveholding States have increased much faster in population than the free States.

Again, sir, a fair estimate of the wealth of the two sections will show that the citizens of the Southern States are as rich per head, I think in fact richer than those of the free States. It was also shown by Mr. Branch, a colleague of mine, some two years ago, that of the old Atlantic States the slaveholding had more miles of railroad in proportion to their white population than the free States. There are other evidences of our material wealth, to which I will presently advert. On the score of morals, it may be said that we have fewer criminals and paupers, and, proportionally, church accommodations for a larger number of members.

It is said, however, that any one who merely looks at the two sections will see the inferiority of the southern system. But you must remember that our population is extended over a territory of nine hundred thousand miles in extent, while many of the northern States have a dense population. It is the tendency of an agricultural people, with an unlimited area, to extend itself rapidly at first, while commerce and manufactures concentrate population. Tried by this standard, any one of a dozen monarchies which I passed through, during the past summer, has the advantage of any portion of the Union. Even in Italy, oppressed as it has been for ages, in its agricultural landscape can bring to shame the best cultivated State of New England. According to the logic of the Abolitionists, these States ought to be placed under the dominion of the House of Austria or the Pope of Rome.—The entire State of Massachusetts is not larger than one of the congressional districts of North Carolina. Where a million of people are brought within a small area, the eye of the observer rests on many habitations and fields. In time the whole Union, if filled with people, may be superior to the best cultivated parts of Europe; but even now, the inhabitants of sparsely settled districts have as much wealth and comfort, all things being considered, as those who live in crowded communities. At no period of our history have the southern States been more prosperous than at present, and even during the commercial pressure of 1857 which has so seriously affected the northern States.

I do not, however, propose, Mr. President, to enter into a general argument on these points, but to maintain that the conservative men of the North have within their reach facts enough to establish two propositions. The first is, that the negro, in the condition of slavery, is not a proper object of sympathy, and is, in fact, benefited by his subjection. The second one is, that the white race are not injured by the institution; that the southern States constitute a prosperous community, and ought not to be the subject of denunciation at the North. Should this be made to appear, then, whatever of real feeling exists against us will be diminished, and, in that event, we may expect that persons who, like the Senator from New York, [Mr. Seward], patronize abolition from such motives as induce a jockey on a horse race to back the horse he thinks likely to win—all such persons, I say, will find it expedient to abandon anti-slavery agitation as a trade. To effect such results, however, the friends of the Constitution in the North must make up their minds to undergo the labor of a thorough canvass of their region against the anti-slavery men, and by proper publications refute their misrepresentations.

The Abolitionists declaim constantly against the slave power. Why, sir, it is sixteen years since there was any attempt by the Democratic party to nominate a citizen of the slaveholding States for the office of President; and for the last ten years, in the conventions of all parties, the contest has been solely among the northern men. In fact, during that period no electoral vote has been given in a slaveholding State, for the office of President, to any southern man. Our only object has been to select among northern gentlemen one who was not our enemy. The men chosen have been assailed by our opponents, not because they were neglectful of any northern interest, but simply because they were willing to do us equal justice with the other section, and refused to exercise the powers of the common Government against us.

It has been urged that the southern States should, by retaliatory legislation, pro-

hibit the sale within their limits of the productions of those of the northern States that have failed to do us justice. As the Constitution of the United States has been interpreted, both by the Federal and State courts, there is ample power to effect this by imposing a tax on articles after they have been imported and the packages broken; in other words, on retailers. Two objects are expected to be effected by this system. In the first place, to make it to the interest of the northern States to counteract the efforts of the Abolitionists; and secondly, to prepare the southern States for a separation, if they should find it necessary to take such a step.

I have often thought, Mr. President, that it was unfortunate that the framers of the Constitution made no provision for the expulsion of a State. If the Union is a misery, then, to punish refractory members, they should undoubtedly be kept in it, as criminals are detained in penitentiaries. But, if, on the other hand, it be a beneficial and desirable thing to remain in the Union, then bad members ought to be excluded from it. No State, in my judgment, has a right to enjoy the advantages of the Union, and yet refuse to submit to the obligations it imposes. Such laws of Congress as are held "by the courts to be constitutional, ought to be obeyed by all the States that share the advantages of the Union. If, for example, when a dozen years ago the State of Massachusetts passed laws to nullify the act for the recovery of fugitives, if she had been expelled from the Union, two striking effects would have been produced. In the first place, the conscience of the inhabitants of that State would have been freed from all responsibility for the sin and turpitude of slavery; and, secondly, their goods, when brought into the United States, would have been taxed as those of other foreigners are. The impression which such an occurrence would have made on their minds and those of the country generally, might possibly then have arrested the anti-slavery movement when it was comparatively feeble. In the present condition of things, such a course would not be practicable, perhaps.

If, however, Mr. President, this hostile movement of the anti-slavery party cannot be arrested under the Constitution, let us consider the second remedy, namely a temporary or permanent separation of the southern from the northern States.

Sensors on the other side of the Chamber do not think this will occur. When Giddings and others proclaim that "the South cannot be kicked out of the Union," such a declaration is received by the anti-slavery party of the country with evident satisfaction, and generally with applause. You Senators, and your supporters do not believe there is danger in any event, because prominent slaveholders and men of wealth occasionally tell you they are conservative, and that the southern people will submit to any treatment you may think proper to impose. But you should remember that these persons are not always the readiest to volunteer to defend the country in time of war, and that many of them dread civil commotions. During our Revolution there were wealthy Tories in every one of the colonies; and at the time General Washington evacuated the city of New York, he was urged by one of his subordinate officers, a northern man, to burn the city, for the reason that two thirds of the property to be destroyed belonged to Tories.

You do not believe, also, because you say that if the South were in earnest, it would be more united, and would not send up, as she does from certain districts, members of Congress who assist you in party movements, and in answer to your threats proclaim their love of the Union.

You should understand, however, that the constituencies of such members are more misled as to the purposes, principles, and power of your party by those newspapers on which they rely for information. Let them have proper knowledge as to the condition of the country where your influence prevails, and they will manifest the same feeling that the rest of the South does. Gradually a knowledge of your movements and objects is spreading over the southern States. Two occurrences have materially contributed to unmask your objects and disclose the dangers which threaten. The first was the vote which Mr. Fillmore received in 1852.—When it was seen that a man like him, of avowed anti-slavery opinions, merely because he showed his willingness to enforce the fugitive slave law, and declared his purpose to give the South the benefits of the Constitution, was beaten largely in every free State, by a mere adventurer like Fremont, a great impression was made on the conservative men of the South. They began to realize the state of feeling in the North, and more disunionists were made by that occurrence than perhaps any one which preceded it.

The second incident which caused even a much stronger impression on the minds of the southern people, was the manner in which the acts of John Brown were received in the North. Instead of the indignation and abhorrence which the atrociousness of his crimes ought naturally to have excited, there were manifestations of admiration and sympathy. Large meetings were held to express these feelings, sermons and prayers were made in his behalf, church bells tolled and cannon fired, and more significant than all these, were the declarations of almost the entire Republican press, that his punishment would strengthen the anti-slavery cause.—Yet Senators tell us that these things were done because of the courage Brown exhibited. But our people think you are mistaken. Though the mere thief may be and usually is a coward, yet it is well known that a profession generally possess courage. Criminals have been executed frequently in New England who, both in the commission of their crimes, and in their death, manifested as much courage as John Brown, and yet none of them called forth such feelings of sympathy. At a meeting in Boston, where thousands were assembled, when Emerson, a literary man of eminence, proclaimed that Brown had made "the gallows as glorious as the cross," he was "rapturously applauded." At the large meeting at Natick, where the Senator from Massachusetts, [Mr. Wilson], was a spectator, the principal orator, Wright, declared that the people of the North look upon "Jesus Christ as a dead failure," and hereafter we are to rely on "John Brown, and him hanged."

In the southern States, where old-fashioned Christian notions still prevail, it would

be thought right to beat such blasphemers even out of a church, if they had congregated there. We are told now that they were not interrupted because the people of Massachusetts are law abiding, and in favor of the liberty of speech. But our constituents do not believe one word of this, because they know that, of all the people in the Union, the inhabitants of Massachusetts are the most excitable and the most intolerant and overbearing. They know that men who dare to oppose the anti-slavery party there are persecuted with intense hatred; that mobs can be gotten up on the smallest occasions, and that ten thousand men can be assembled on the shortest notice to rescue a runaway negro from the custody of a United States marshal.

Our people know that these things could not have occurred unless there had been an intense feeling of hostility to the South, and, therefore, strong sympathy with our assailants. Is not this the reason why your leading editors have declared that the punishment of John Brown will strengthen the anti-slavery cause? Such is the construction the people of the South put on this whole matter, and hence the demonstrations you witness among them.

But you hold that the South is unable and unwilling to resist you; and the Senator from New York, [Mr. Seward], has declared, in substance, that the Union is never to be dissolved. He also told the Senate that the contest between the free and the slaveholding States had ended by the former winning the victory. He and the rest of you expect us in future to submit quietly to what you may see fit to order. Had the British Parliament believed that the colonies would resist their tax bills our Revolution would not have occurred; but Lord North and others declared that the clamor in America came from a few seditious agitators, and that the body of the people were so loyal to the Government that they were ready to submit to the action of the Parliament. They affirmed that there was no danger of resistance; and, at least of all, of their thinking of dissolving the union with their mother country. Our ancestors wisely determined that the cannon of Great Britain were less dangerous than their acts of Parliament.

Let us look at this matter for a few moments calmly. At this time the population of the South is nearly thirteen million, of which more than eight million are free persons and four million slaves. At the beginning of our Revolution the population of the colonies, both free and slave, was less than three million. The slaveholding States are then far more than four times as strong as were the colonies when they dissolved the union with Great Britain.

Is it likely that after having been independent for eighty years, our people are less attached to their rights? But many of your abolitionists say that slaveholding has enfeebled our people, and rendered them so spiritless that they are neither willing nor able to make defense. Edmund Burke thought differently, and said that of all men slaveholders were the most tenacious of their rights, and defend their liberties with the highest and laughtiest spirit. I do not refer to the war of the Revolution, when all the States were slaveholding; but in the last war with Great Britain the southern States sent out more men than the northern, and it has never yet, as far as I have heard, been pretended that Harrison and Johnson, Scott and Forsyth, were not as brave as those who went from the free States to the Canada line, or that Jackson and the men under him in the Southwest, did not exhibit a proper courage. To the war with Mexico, though much the less populous section, the South sent nearly twice as many men as the North. A leading black Republican editor says that one regiment from New York would be able to conquer all the Southern States. A regiment from the State of New York certainly conducted itself well during the Mexican war; but it has not, I think, been affirmed that it behaved better than the regiments from the slaveholding States. If you, therefore, think that one of your regiments is able to subdue the South, our people will probably differ with you in opinion. You say that fear of the slaves will prevent any resistance to you. As a sudden movement of a few negroes, stimulated by abolition emissaries, might destroy a family or fifty persons, however, are killed in this country by vicious and unmanageable horses, to one who suffers from the act of a rebellious negro. There is, in fact, about as much reason to apprehend a general insurrection of the slaves as of the slaves of the South when left to themselves. When, during the war of 1812, the British armies were in the slaveholding territory, though they induced a number of slaves to join them, they found no advantage to result from it, and their Government paid for all carried off, at the close of the war. Though the Spartans and Romans were the greatest slaveholders in the world, and though, too, they held in the most rigid servitude men of their own color and race, and therefore liable to rebel in great force, yet they were strong enough to overthrow all their enemies. In our opinion, the slaves are a positive element of strength, because they add to the production of the whole country, while the white race can furnish soldiers enough. Every man, too, among us, is accustomed to ride and carry weapons from his childhood.

There are, however, other important elements to be taken into the account. During the last fiscal year the exports of the United States, exclusive of specie, were \$278,000,000. Of this amount, the free States furnished, exclusively, \$5,281,000, the slave States \$188,693,000, and the two sections jointly, also, \$84,417,000. Of this latter sum of \$84,000,000, the slave States probably furnished one-third, but certainly one-fourth. A fourth added to the amount exclusively furnished by them, makes a total of \$210,000,000 as the value of their exports to foreign countries. They also exported a large amount to the free States. New England alone received about fifty million dollars' worth of southern productions; and to the foreign country combined, must greatly have exceeded three hundred million dollars. As the South sells this much, it, of course, can afford to buy a like amount. If, therefore, it constituted a separate confederacy, its imports would exceed three hundred million dollars; a duty of twenty per

cent. on this amount, which would be a low rate than has generally been paid under our tariff, herefore, would yield a revenue of \$60,000,000. More than fifty millions of this sum could well be spared for the defence of our section, and the support of larger armies and navies than the present Government has. Though it may seem strange to you that the South should in this way raise as large a revenue as the whole Union has ever done, this, too, with a lower tariff, you must remember that most of the tariff taxes the South pays go, in the shape of protection to those northern manufacturers who threaten us with negro insurrections and subjugation. Do you think that with these prospects before our people they are ready to submit unconditionally to you? They have the strongest feelings of contempt for the avaricious and greedy, the cunning and hypocritical, the mean, envious, and malicious abolitionists. Little as they may think of the free negro, he is, in their judgment, more respectable than the white man who comes down to his level; and with all the world to choose a master from, your negro worshipper would be their last choice.

In making up your calculations, we must also look to the other side. The free States have a population of sixteen or eighteen million. Though this is considerably more, numerically, than our strength, yet it is much less, relatively, than was the population of Great Britain, in 1776. I have no doubt that your people are courageous, generally; but the best and bravest of them are in the Democratic ranks; and, while they would defend their section, if attacked, I doubt if they would easily be induced to assault us. Many of your Abolitionists belong to the "peace party," and have little appetite for cold steel, though they are most efficient in getting up popular clamors, and are formidable at the ballot box. It is also true, that while everything the South needs can either produce or commonly get cheaper in Europe, under a system of free trade, your northern States are especially dependent on the South for its productions and freights. How many of your manufacturers and mechanics would emigrate to the South to avoid the payment of tariff taxes? If it were known that one third of the stores in New York could not be rented, how much would real property fall, then? Deprived of southern freights, what would be the loss on your vast shipping interests? I give you in this calculation, the benefit of the assumption that all the free States would go with you. In fact, I do not believe that the Northwest would remain connected with New England, still less that you could retain California and Oregon.

But you, Senators, do not believe the South will resist. Look for a moment at the course of things there. In those sections that I am best acquainted with, there are hundreds of disunionists now where there were ten years ago. By disunionists, I mean men who would prefer to see the Union continue, if the Constitution were fairly administered, but who have already deliberately come to the conclusion that this is impossible, and would willingly to-day see the Union dissolved. In some of the States this class constitutes decided majorities now, and in others where they are not, the majority is ready to unite with them upon the happening of some further causes. In my judgment, the election of the presidential candidate of the Black Republican party will furnish the cause. The principles of that party, as announced in the contest of 1856, were such that no honorable southern man could possibly belong to it. I see that the general committee in their call properly take this view, and only extend their invitation to the Opposition in the free States.—What precise anti-slavery platform they adopt is not very important, as they will of course make it so as to obtain the support of their most moderate members, knowing that the ultra ones will go with them any how. In fact they know that in the language of the Senator from New York, [Mr. Seward], "circumstances determine possibilities," and that he and they are willing "at all times" to do all they can, in power or out of it, to overthrow slavery.

It is said, however, that we ought to wait for some over act, and the Senator from New Hampshire, [Mr. Hale], the other day declared that it was wrong and insolent for southern men to talk of resisting merely because they, the Republicans, elected men to carry out "their views." That Senator is very wise, and knows that, when a man wishes to subdue a wild horse, he treats the animal with the greatest kindness at first, and commits no overt act on him until he is well and securely tamed. Suppose that your candidate was known to be in favor of making a treaty with Great Britain, by which the United States were to be re-annexed as colonies to that country, and he had been elected by the majority of votes, would the minority, who might still wish to preserve their independence, be bound to wait until the treaty had been actually ratified, and British armies had taken possession of the country, and begun to maltreat the inhabitants?—In the present case, the very inauguration of your candidate makes him commander of the Army and Navy. One of his first acts would be, doubtless, to station them advantageously, at the same time, he could carefully remove from the South all the public arms, lest the people should take them for defense. He would fill the southern States with postmasters, and other officials, whose efforts would be directed to deciding, as much as possible, the people of the South, and to forming connections with the negroes. Doubtless, some such policy as this would be adopted before any direct blow was struck at slavery anywhere.—Should we, under these disadvantages, begin to resist, a long and bloody struggle, like that of our Revolution, might be the consequence. The very impression that Fremont was to be elected produced some disturbances among the slaves; and with a black Republican President a hundred such forays as John Brown's might occur in a single year. Though the negroes left to themselves are harmless, yet, when assisted and led on by Europeans in St. Domingo, they destroyed the white inhabitants. As the Senator from New York, [Mr. Seward], holds that the constitutional guarantees in favor of slavery, being "in violation of the divine law," cannot be forced, and "ought to be relinquished," he would be on the side of the negro.

The objections are not personal merely to this Senator, but apply equally to any member of the party elected by it. It has in fact been suggested that, as a matter of

of Jan. each year and at that time they will
 meet them to be closed.
PATTON & ALEXANDER.
 Asheville, Feb. 16, 1860. 11

FLOWER SEED for sale by
PATTON & ALEXANDER

and varied assortment of
UNCY & STAPLE DRY GOODS,
HARDWARE,
PAINTS, OILS & CROCKERY,
GROCERIES,
BOOTS & SHOES
HATS & CAPS.
READY MADE CLOTH NG,
&C., &C., &C.
 embracing everything usually kept in a retail
 store. They expect to sell on the most liberal
 terms and hope by politeness and attention to
 their customers to merit a liberal share of the
 public patronage. They invite every one to give
THEM A CALL.
 All accounts made with them will be due the
 1st of Jan. each year and at that time they will
 meet them to be closed.
PATTON & ALEXANDER.
 Asheville, Feb. 16, 1860. if

 (GLOVER SEED for sale by
PATTON & ALEXANDER.

